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ABSTRACT

Within the teacher empowerment movement, a theoretical framework for analyzing the condition of teaching as work is not widely considered. Given the special character of the varying expectations held by interest groups focusing on teacher productivity, a concise theory would provide teacher education students a foundation for participating fully and in an informed manner in their careers. The undemocratic governing environments of schools have created alienated teachers; such environments have fueled the teacher empowerment movement. An advantage of considering work alienation in relationship to teaching careers and the rise of teacher empowerment is that by rejecting categorical descriptions of the reality, a theory of alienation provides broad social philosophical approaches to problems previously considered the domain of psychology. The paper discusses alienated versus empowered teachers, suggesting that empowerment is the overcoming of workplace alienation and gaining the freedom to participate more fully in public affairs as a teacher. It notes that in order to incorporate teacher empowerment into the knowledge base, there must be a critical understanding that schools are fabricated by human beings, that they embody attitudes and interpretations which serve particular cognitive and political interests. It also examines the barriers to incorporating empowerment into the knowledge base, noting that teacher educators seeking to incorporate empowerment must engage among themselves in phenomenological and interpretative encounters on the concept of alienation and seek means to actualize empowering theory with complimentary pedagogical techniques into the curriculum. (58 references). (SM)

ALIENATION AS THE CONCEPTUAL FOUNDATION FOR INCORPORATING TEACHER EMPOWERMENT INTO THE TEACHER EDUCATION KNOWLEDGE BASE

by

Michael Vavrus

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Introduction

With in the teacher empowerment movement a theoretical framework for analyzing the condition of teaching as work is not widely considered. More often the emphasis is upon finding a technical knowledge base that underpins teaching which in turn would serve as the basis for licensing boards to be controlled by teachers (Darling-Hammond 1988; National Board for Professional Teaching Standards n.d.; NEA Pursues Its Plan 1987) "since monopolistic licensure, with the licensing process in the hands of the professions themselves, is the most common way in which professions control the content of their work" (Simpson 1985, 420). As a creation of state authority the work of teaching faces unique and complex societal expectations considerably different than other established professions. Given the special character of the varying expectations held by interest groups focusing on the productivity of teachers, an articulated theory would provide teacher education students the foundation for participating completely and in an informed manner in their prospective careers.

As the Holmes (Tomorrow's Teachers 1986) and Carnegie reports (A Nation Prepared 1986) gave national legitimacy in the latter half of the 1980's to the fact that teaching does not fall neatly into the category of a profession, the plight of the unempowered teacher was more widely revealed.[1] The denial to teachers for participation in the schooling decision-making process echoes Dewey's (1920) characterization of a despotically governed society with people "engaged in activity which is socially serviceable, but whose service they do not understand and have no personal interest" (98). The undemocratic governing/working environments of schools have created the existence of alienated teachers whose rumblings are fueling teacher empowerment.

A social philosophical understanding as to why teachers are alienated is assisted through an analysis of the early writings of Marx ([1932] 1973a; [1932] 1973b; [1849] 1973c) in relationship to social constructions of reality in the United States. However, the status quo nature of teaching and teacher education with its historically antitheoretical, nonreflective emphasis (Bowers 1977; Giroux 1988; Wildman and Nile 1987) combined with the hegemony of individualistic psychological analyses has tended to exempt comprehensive social system critiques from the teacher preparation knowledge base.[2] The early normal schools "were interested not in producing moral crusaders who would engage in open public conflict over moral and social issues but in producing teachers who would limit their moral campaigns to shaping student character" (Spring 1986, 123). In contemporary times teacher educators and teachers find that by "identifying themselves as spokespersons for - or representatives of - the system in it local manifestation, they avoid interrogation and critique" (Greene 1978, 56). Illustrative of this is Dietz's (1989) experience in an urban school restructuring project where she encountered "many teachers who cannot see beyond the constraints they currently face" (12).

Although strong liberal arts general studies programs tend to include some of the works of Marx on their reading lists, the ideas of this liberal arts component are rarely applied to course work in professional education programs. As Western civilization's primary philosopher to analyze the impact of objective working conditions on the psychological functioning of individuals from the perspective of alienation (Schacht, 1970).

Marx's actual philosophical statements have historically been confused with international political movements, limiting public discourse of his ideas.[3]

An advantage of considering work alienation in relationship to a career in teaching and the rise of the teacher empowerment movement is that by rejecting categorical descriptions of reality, a theory of alienation offers broad social philosophical approaches to problems previously considered primarily the domain of psychology.[4] The dialectic methodology "provides a framework which is unlike that of mainstream academic disciplines" by integrating "subject matters which are normally treated as separate branches of knowledge about society" (Harrington 1976, 201). Ollman (1976) explains that

> instead of seeking a strict causal tie between the mode of production and other institutions and practices of society which precludes complex social interactions, we must begin by accepting the existence of this interaction.... This, and not technological determinism, is the conception of history illustrated in all Marx's detailed discussions of political and social phenomena. If Marx is at ease with a foot on each side of the fence, it is because, for him, the fence does not exist (25).

The Alienated Teacher/The Empowered Teacher

Empowerment may be conceptualized as the overcoming of workplace alienation. Empowerment is not thought of here as a private liberty gained for an individual, but as the freedom to participate more fully in public affairs as a teacher.[5] Understanding the nature of alienation clarifies how teachers are presently denied direct participation in the decisions which affect their work. The nature of teacher alienation, however, is not found to be synonymous, for example, with the alienation of an industrial worker since "the forms of alienation differ for each class because their position and style of life differ" (Ollman, 132).

Alienation represents the separation of an individual from one's work as a subsumed part of a larger social structure and is unrelated to explanations of the alienated individual as psychologically abnormal.[6] Related to an intrapersonal rationale for alienation is the use of the term "burn-out" interchangeably with alienation (Dworkin, 1987) in the absence of an analysis of structural workplace conditions when stress-related symptoms from one's work may actually be a function of alienating work conditions (Vavrus 1987). Job satisfaction studies further obfuscate an understanding of work alienation by implicitly suggesting that if individuals are satisfied with their jobs, they are not experiencing alienation. Job satisfaction researchers often are more concerned with individual perceptions than the nature of the work performed (Schacht). Such studies continue to lead toward explanations based on one's genetic disposition for finding job satisfaction (see Arvey et al. 1989) rather than acknowledging that an individual may report satisfaction or high morale yet be far removed from being labeled an empowered professional.

The concept of alienation implies an evolving state, "not merely that some sort of 'alienness' exists, but also that a process of 'becoming alien' has occurred" (Schacht, 179-80). The course of alienation is initiated when school boards purchase the "labor power" (Marx [1849] 1973c) of teachers. With their labor serving as a market commodity, teachers encounter managers of schools who make decisions as to how to use this particular item, labor power, in the absence of participatory decision making with teachers. The utilization of teachers' labor becomes reified as an organizational variable. Once an individual sells

his or her labor power, Marx [1932] 1973a) conceptualized four aspects which constitute the whole of work alienation:

> (1) The relation of the worker to the product of labour as an alien object exercising power over him....
> (2) The relation of labour to the act of production within the labour process. The relation is the relations of the worker to his own activity as an alien activity not belonging to him.... Estranged labour turns thus:
> (3) Man's species being both nature and his spiritual species property, onto a being alien to him, into a means to his individual existence....
> (4) The estrangement of man from man (60-3).

The product of teacher labor has traditionally been difficult for policymakers and the public to define. The ideology of accountability and efficiency has attempted to define the outcome of teaching in terms of student test scores. Yet what knowledge ought to be taught, let alone be measured with validity, remains ambiguous (see What to Teach 1989). On a societal level a capitalist belief system functions to interpret the value of education primarily on the grounds of economic utility with an assessment of the students' "human capital" potential serving as the end result.

As targeted agents for generating test score quotas tied to anticipated measures of economic worth, teachers are generally excluded from determining the schooling production goals which collectively become an "alien object" far removed from the preservice teachers' anticipation of developing the whole child.[7] When teachers begin to see their own endeavors serving more as a commodity than as a personally fulfilling activity for both themselves and the children they serve, the realization of alienation is heightened. Possibly due to the vagueness of the product of schooling and the external control over the process of teacher labor, teachers may come to question the value and importance of the work they are performing. As individuals abstracted from what they may have at one time anticipated to be their central creative experience for making a positive contribution in public life, teachers are pushed eventually to expect intrinsic satisfaction through isolated elements of their work outside their teaching careers rather than through self-invested engagement in the entirety of their work. Indicative of this is research on the relationship between alienation and teacher career stages which finds that the longer teachers have been employed, the more alienated and less involved they are with their labor (Vavrus 1979).

In this process "the teacher's feeling of responsibility may well be eroded by an implicit demand that he be the agent of an externally defined purpose, which he can only understand as a slogan or still another expression of prevailing piety" (Greene 1973, 269-70). The teacher avoids investing his or her human qualities or "species being" into the work of teaching, seeing employment as merely "a means to his individual existence." Finally, work alienation distances teachers from one another as evidenced by the novelty of the relatively few teachers nationally having the opportunity through teacher empowerment efforts to analyze in a collaborative atmosphere the various aspects of their work.

In the movement toward alienation teachers may lose whatever curriculum development abilities they may have gained in their teacher education programs. Apple (1987) describes this as the "de-skilling" of teachers, a condition in which teachers' skills begin to suffer from "atrophy" induced by a lack of use due to prescribed curricula and teaching strategies (68). In this context teachers are not perceived as creative curriculum designers but as technocrats. Trivial tasks directing teachers away from conceptually

organizing their own teaching become misinterpreted as professional activity (Apple 1986). However, "teachers need to have a stake in what they teach. They are not merely passive tubes or mechanical conveyers of someone else's ambitions and interests" (Eisner 1985, vi).

Teachers in the process of overcoming alienation, on the other hand, are in a developing state of empowerment, moving toward the ideal of "humanism,...the genuine...[and] true resolution of the strife between existence and essence, between objectification and self-confirmation, between freedom and necessity, between the individual and the species" (Marx [1932] 1973a, 70). Through empowerment efforts teachers begin to experience a sense of wholeness with their original career goals and with the actual experiences of being a teacher. Since teachers are employed by a public agency, their empowerment provides them with the opportunity to relate authentically with their local communities as educators possessing valued professional judgments rather than as alienated workers separated from the broader public sphere of life related to their work.

If to empower is understood to mean to invest with power, it may be assumed that all social relations impacting upon the schooling process are wrought with some form of power. Power has always existed in the management of schools and affected the way in which school boards, administrators, teachers, parents, community members, and legislators have perceived themselves. "Power shapes and informs our psyche," Cherryholmes (1988) clarifies. "The result is that we are objects of social institutions and processes while we intentionally engage in meaningful behavior" (35). Using the notion of power, the teacher empowerment movement of the 1990's may be conceived as involved in the act of challenging and undermining the belief that existing asymmetrical power arrangements are natural and permanent.

An increase in power gained by teachers, the key practitioners in the schooling social relation, provides them with more control over the decisions which pertain to their labor, moving them away from a state of alienation. Teacher empowerment becomes "the power to exercise one's craft with confidence and to help shape the way that the job is to be done" (Maeroff 1988, 4). At the embryonic stage of the current teacher empowerment movement it appears that where teacher involvement in school-level decision making has been greatly expanded beyond the norm, teachers have recognized that they do not want to be responsible for all decisions administrators traditionally handle, but just those which most directly impact on their work as educators (Maeroff; 'The Sky's the Limit' 1987). In addition to the freedom for professional development related to improving teaching performance as part of their careers, teachers consider crucial their power to have "access to resources and the ability to mobilize them, the availability of the tools to do their job, and the capability to influence the goals and directions of their institution" (McLaughlin and Yee 1988, 28). This includes input in the hiring of new administrators for their school districts, budget determinations for the teachers' own school, standardized test selection and use, evaluation of their own work, and broad curriculum determinations (Vavrus 1979). Furthermore, Greene (1988) in The Dialectic of Freedom insists that the process of empowerment ought to call into question and philosophically deconstruct the familiar physical configurations of the school in order for all parties to arrive at fresh understandings and perspectives of this aspect of schooling and to act upon those new insights in the context of expanding involvement of teachers in the public dimension of their work.

For the realization of empowerment over alienation the exposition of the meaning of teaching and schooling by teachers must take place. By interpreting lived situations rather than the blindly accepting depersonalized, ahistorical assumptions, empowerment becomes involved in the goal of "promoting human dignity" (Cherryholmes, 172).[8] The use

of the term collaboration in educational literature may be considered a dimension of interpretative action in which the emphasis is on dialectic rather than fixed relations among participants. "To collaborate," Conoley (1989) elucidates, "implies joint responsibility and action to accomplish a task. Further, collaborative relationships are nonhierarchical and are based on complementary skills and goals" (245). Collaboration among teachers may be likened to the manner in which phenomenological and interpretative research differs from traditional practice in that "subjects are central to the discourse, modes of argument looser, the range of metaphor wider, and the continuing social construction of our institutions and interactions explicitly acknowledged" (Cherryholmes,III).

Alienation and the Knowledge Base

> If the knowledge base for beginning teachers is extended to include knowledge about ideological and hegemonic forces in the culture, it also ought to encompass what is being said and done to stimulate critical thinking and critical consciousness (Greene 1989, 149).

My aforementioned explanation of the relationship between alienation and empowerment is intended for teacher educators as a foundation for conceptualizing teacher empowerment, not as direct information for ingestion by pre-service teachers. The dialectic methodology is not a linear model for proving and predicting events, but "a way of viewing things as moments in their own development in, with, and through other things" (Ollman, 52). The focus remains on the complexity of the social interactions impacting upon the schooling production process. But since the traditional introductory presentation of Marx's philosophies are often misconceived as static with the significance of the dialectic missed,[9] building upon whatever exposure to Marx students may have received through their liberal arts studies poses problems for educators seeking to incorporate his works directly into the teacher education knowledge base. If "life is not determined by consciousness, but consciousness by life" (Marx [1849] 1973c, 119); then an accurate description of the multiple realities of the educative process must first be addressed.

In order to incorporate teacher empowerment into the knowledge base, the starting point involves arriving at "a critical understanding that schools, like other institutions, are fabricated by human beings and that they embody particular attitudes and interpretations that serve particular cognitive and political interests" (Greene 1987, 185-6). The object here is "demystification" (Green 1978, 54) of the authoritarian explanations as to how the whole of education ought to be organized and for what purpose. The norm of promoting one-dimensional, linear instructional and social models is insufficient.

The groundwork for the agency of demystification is being laid to varying degrees by teacher preparation units shifting from a technical orientation of teaching to one highlighting reflective inquiry (see Posner 1989; Quisenberry, McIntyre, and Byrd 1989; Rogers 1985; Zeichner and Liston 1987). Similar to collaboration among teachers described earlier, reflective thinking becomes an aspect of interpretation. The focus of reflective teacher education, however, loses it full interpretive potential if limited only to discrete events within a field-based classroom in which external variables are ignored. An example of an attempt toward expansive reflective thinking is the elementary education student teaching program at the University of Wisconsin which articulates an emphasis on "the preparation of teachers who are both willing and able to reflect on the origins, purposes, and consequences of their actions, as well as on the material and ideological constraints and encouragements embedded in the classroom, school, and societal contexts in which they work" (Zeichner and Liston, 284).

In order for reflective thinking by teacher education students to be productive in relationship to an understanding of teacher empowerment, an examination of the nature of the work of teaching is appropriate. This does not involve a one unit exposure in a social foundations course, but an interpretation of what it means to be a teacher from varying perspectives throughout the curriculum. Traditional methodology courses can be restructured to provide an analysis of bureaucracy with its attendant opportunities and impediments to empowering teachers as decision makers, accentuating the value of curriculum developers with control over their labor.[10] In this context Wise (1989) advocates "a new paradigm for school management....[where] professional accountability can substitute, impart, for bureaucratic accountability" (303). This compliments Greene's contention that beginning teachers

> require some acquaintance with instances of the kind of thinking that involves a critical resistance to bureaucratic and other pressures and the kind of 'knowledgeability' that may provide the sense of agency needed to deal with them (1989, 150) [and she calls on teacher educators] to conceive of ways in which persons can be urged to assert themselves, to take their own initiative, to overcome their alienation (1978, 68).

During the development of the skills to realize a career in teaching as a craft, pre-service teachers need to encounter the notion of power and come to appreciate how it permeates all relations in their work. An understanding of power provides teacher education students a conceptual factor for recognizing alienating working conditions which impede teachers from realizing professional judgment and action. A breaking away from the limited technical vision of teacher preparation is necessary. Lesson plans, teaching techniques, and classroom management can be placed in a larger social philosophical context of origins and belief systems. Although teachers ought to be familiar, for example, with developing and using behavioral objectives in line with school district aims, teacher educators can also communicate the rationale and shortcomings of both behavioral objectives and state and local goals and demonstrate alternative means for organizing instruction.[11] Otherwise, despite even flexibility in teaching methods to meet objectives, "the objectives themselves usually remain unchallenged" (Apple 1986, 47).

Bitner (1986) argues that philosophical reflection is necessary in undergraduate education programs to allow for critical analysis. Not having had this opportunity, Bitner himself became an "educational schizophrenic" through an unarticulated conflict between his personal ethic of teaching and the traditional ideology of schooling (186). In other words he was experiencing alienation, for him a disturbing separation from his values and his labor induced by unnamed social forces and relations. To provide education students the necessary grounding and tools to seek empowerment is not to direct them "into an abstract conceptual universe at odds with and distanced from what one knows as one lives. Nor is it to be slotted into or prepared for a self-existent system that may well be closed to one in the end, or antagonistic to one's values, or alienating to one's being" (Greene 1987, 186). The teacher preparation program holds, therefore, the potential for contributing to the empowerment of teachers through reflective inquiry based on a critical theoretical and concrete understanding of alienation.

Barriers to Incorporating Empowerment into the Knowledge Base

Implied throughout empowerment is teacher participation in school district decision making, a vital step for overcoming work alienation. If involvement in composing policy is "the degree to which staff members participate in setting the goals and policies of the entire organization" (Aiken and Hage 1966, 498), activities not tied to these participation

components cannot be considered empowerment in the fullest sense. However, by broadening the concept of teacher to stress the notion of an empowered curriculum designer who acts on informed professional wisdom, teacher education programs place themselves in conflict with the operating ideology of the vast majority of school systems which seek to restrict the decision making capacity of teachers. The historic bureaucratic control of teaching is not easily overcome as it "represents a way of thinking about achieving educational quality that...distrusts...the teacher's ability and judgment in the classroom" (Johnson 1987, 239). Additionally, unlike lawyers or physicians in private practice, teachers are publicly funded by local communities and state governments who perceive the public, not teachers, as the adjudicators for policy determination.

Nevertheless, these observations do not suggest that education programs should abandon the pursuit of presenting a teacher preparation curriculum responsive to the professional integrity embedded in empowerment. "The teacher's role has been so narrowed," Goodland states, 'that beginning teachers simply do not see that they have any responsibility for the totality of the school environment...[But] if young teachers get the idea that it's possible to be part of a renewing process, reform can begin" ('Healing' the Fractured Movement 1989, A3). Goodland further notes that teacher education must emulate schools in other professions which model and advocate the most current research and conceptions available in their respective knowledge bases. As Goodland sees it, though, teacher education programs too often mirror negative educational practices found in the schools.

The reflection in the knowledge base of existing schooling practices on strictly practical grounds is what Cherryholmes refers to as "vulgar pragmatism...,[the] unreflective acceptance of explicit and implicit standards, conventions, rules, and discourses-practices that we find around us" (151). In order to confront the spectre of alienation as a means to realizing empowerment, education faculties must engage in "critical pragmatism...[which] results when a sense of crisis is brought to our choices, when it is accepted that our standards, beliefs, values, guiding texts, and discourses-practices themselves require evaluation and reappraisal" (ibid.). In this setting teacher educators are confronted with the ethical dilemma of either (a) providing future teachers with an understanding of the potentially alienating nature of their work and the knowledge base for helping them in empowering their chosen vocation or (b) continuing to prepare technically proficient teachers who have only a vague notion of the social forces working against them for being empowered.

As the issue of teacher professionalism and empowerment gains more legitimacy in public debates, attempts will continue to confine empowerment within the ideology of cost effectiveness and control. Under a functionalist philosophy genuine involvement of teachers in policy formation is only advocated if some kind of economic advantage is realized for both the operation of schools and the greater society in which schools exist. Furthermore, school managers generally resist infringements on their power and support teacher participation based on "the degree of teacher discretion...determined not by institutional policy but by the generosity and goodwill of individual administrators" (Brandt 1989, 378). This reinforces reports that throughout the schools of the United States principals are inclined to display an attitude of paternalism toward teachers(). While urging that democratic values and respect for human dignity be taught in public schools and that school staffs and community members collaborate on curricular goals, the annual resolutions of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD) (1989), for example, also state that "the major purpose of restructured schools is to improve student learning." The notion "to improve student learning" in its undefined form falls within the domain of the accountability ideology of "vulgar pragmatism." The pious call for

increases in student learning becomes a facade for avoiding a critical examination of alienating work conditions of teachers. The contradiction inherent within the sampled resolutions is found in ASCD's support for broadening the realm of the school decision making process while denying through its silence the potential role of empowered teachers. From a critical perspective Yonemura (1987) talks not in terms of student learning but of an atmosphere in which teacher educators convey to prospective teachers that out of teacher empowerment grows empowered children, a perception of children "as active, not only reactive, organisms....[who are not] passive memorizers of educational scripts to which they make no original contribution, and which do not expand and enrich their day-to-day experiences" (281, 277).

School environments which support empowerment rather than alienation do exist (Maeroff; McLaughlin and Yee). Yet, as many teacher educators know, the empowered school is rare, contributing to the dilemma of locating appropriate field placement sites for reflective inquiry with empowered teachers as role models. More often education students find teachers who define their freedom in terms of the delimitations of their work. Finn (1989) also contents that "too few [teachers] really want to change their ways" (40). Despite the necessity for personal economic concerns, when teachers focus only on wage and fringe benefit packages, they are only increasing the material value of their labor power they are selling to their school district while allowing alienating work conditions to go unaddressed. Rather than restricting their contact with teachers to the mechanics of field placement procedures, teacher educators can begin to avail themselves of occasions to meet collaboratively with teachers who are seeking to address the intrinsic nature of their work.

Infusing the teacher education curriculum with concepts of empowerment grounded in alienation theory cannot be met by cloistering these ideas in isolated courses. As Zeichner and Liston at the University of Wisconsin discovered, the compartmentalizing of even holistic reflective thinking into one component of the teacher education course of study is not successful since students need considerable "experience with the kinds of reasoned analysis and problematic stance toward practice" found in a program of reflective inquiry (302). But at the University of Wisconsin dispersing interpretative thinking throughout the course work poses a constraint generalizable to many other institutions in that "there was only limited discussion by faculty, students, and cooperating teachers of the program as a whole," resulting in the realization that the faculty needs to concern itself with "the lack of coherence n the total program and the lack of attention to the shared enterprise of teacher education" (304).

The Wisconsin experience suggests that interpretative collaboration among teacher education faculty on substantive issues is needed. However, the more manageable faculty size with less emphasis on a strict division of labor in the organization of faculty responsibilities may provide the smaller independent liberal arts colleges a structural advantage in discovering more easily procedures for meaningful faculty interaction on critical issues. The development among education professors of a dialogue focusing on "the critical transformation of public schools rather than...the simple reproduction of existing institutions and ideologies" (Giroux, 184) is called for. As a first step, regardless of the nature of their institution, teacher educators seeking to incorporate empowerment into the knowledge base must engage among themselves in phenomenological and interpretative encounters on the concept of alienation and next seek means to actualize empowering theory with complimentary pedagogical techniques into the curriculum.

Notes

[1] The identification of unempowered teachers is not, however, a new phenomena (see Lortie 1969, Vavrus 1979, and Waller [1932] 1961).

[2] A blatant example of this resistance to critical analysis comes from a book reviewer for Phi Delta Kappan who dismisses application of Marx's theories as merely "far-left views"; "humorless, probably because they lack imagination"; finds, "in a perverse way, pleasing" Marxist criticism from abroad of American revisionist scholars; and wishes to look "past the left rhetoric and sociological framework" (Brown 1986, 81-82).

[3] For a summary of how the early works of Marx have only been widely available to the public since the early 1960's, see Kaufmann (1970).

[4] For a critical analysis of the widely referenced work of Seeman (1959, 1975) and an articulation of the shortcomings of his work on alienation in which he acknowledges a theoretical debt to Marx but deviants significantly from a focus on the social nature of the production process, see Vavrus (1979, 1987).

[5] For a detailed analysis of the difference between the private sphere of freedom envisioned by classical liberalism compared to Marx's conception of freedom in relationship to control over social forces, see Walicki (1983).

[6] "What began with Marx as an explicitly normative and value-laden notion of alienation as a tool with which to critically examine objective social conditions and social structure gradually evolves into a concept implicitly used to defend a given social structure - through an implicit assumption of what is normal and the development of the notion of alienated individuals as deviant" (Pacheco 1976, 7925-A).

[7] Howey and Zimpher (1989) report that 95 percent of the teacher education students they surveyed indicate that their desire in "helping children to grow and learn" (43) was a factor influencing their decision to enroll in teacher preparation programs. Also see Mclaughlin, Pfeifer, et al. (1986).

[8] Cherryholmes further explains, "Competing conceptions of human dignity are continually judged against each other, and their ambiguities and contradictions in turn enrich their further assessment and development" (176).

[9] "The classic result is the construction of a rock ribbed triad of thesis, antithesis and synthesis, whose strict lines allow prediction even before the facts have been gathered," Ollman points out. Furthermore:

> Among the reasons responsible for the heavy and undeserving emphasis placed upon this triad, along with the natural desire to make the dialectic 'produce,' is the need most people feel to focus their attention on something unchanging even when the object of their gaze is change itself. Those who cannot view reality dialectically require hooks on which to hang the dialectic. Unfortunately, once installed, these hooks, which may render some initial service, are almost impossible to remove (59).

[10] For a critical analysis summarizing bureaucracy and functionalism as it relates to schooling, see Vavrus (forthcoming).

[11] For a sample of possible alternatives to standard behavioral objectives, see Eisner.

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